Historical References

I

127 If we were to affirm that the Matacos or Mataguayos are first mentioned in the writings of the Missionary Fathers, we would expose ourselves to correction when, at some future date, the archives of our motherland be better known. However, lacking such facts, and without having the work of Father Salinas at hand, I must necessarily begin by setting down what Father Techo says in his Historia de la Provincia Jesuítica del Paraguay [History of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay].

●175 Refer to volume I, chapters 40 to 43 etc., which include the years 1590, 1591 and 1592.

In the first of these years Fathers Pedro Añasco and Juan Fonte arrived at Tucuman, at the same time that the famous and apostolic Father Alonso Bárcena was evangelizing the Lules, those on the slopes of (Mount) Aconguija, not those under Father Machoni's care. Father Bárcena, full of good works, toiled without ceasing among those belligerent Indians, underfed and in imminent danger of losing his life, but undismayed for all that, so much so that when called to order by his superior he answered with these noble and heart felt words [Latin parallel text omitted. See foreign text--Translator]: "I shall go to you as soon as possible, Father, and at your feet I shall say: Here I am; send me, be it that you return me to the Lules, or to the Calchaquies, to the Chaquenses or the Frontones, or to the uttermost ends of the earth, for I desire with an insatiable longing to be sent where I may suffer all things in behalf of those souls who are to be saved."

It is quite apparent here that the good Father differentiated be-
[114] tween Lules, Calchaquies, Chaquenses and Frentones. In my opinion the Chaquenses were the Mataraes, Matacos or Mataguayos who spoke the Tonocoté language. [564]

II

The Matará People

In chapter 41 Father Techo goes on to tell how the Spaniards founded the city of Concepción del Bermejo, 30 leagues from the point

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175 at which the Bermejo river flows into the Paraguay, with the object of converting the numberless tribes which surrounded it. It was estimated that a hundred thousand Indians lived in the environs and Fathers Fonte and Angulo were their teachers. Almost all of the groups of Indians were Frontones, [Frente = Forehead--Translator], a name which was given to them because of their habit of shaving off the hair on the forward part of their heads.

These Indians hung clubs and handsful of arrows at their belts, and carried a staff or rod to which were attached many fish jaws, which looked like saws. They would go about naked, their bodies covered with paint to inspire terror. They were very jealous of their borders, and by way of warning they would hang the bodies of the enemies they had killed on trees. They were nomadic, and carried their camps from one place to another. [Latin parallel text omitted, see foreign text--Translator].

"Practically every group has a different tongue, and to such a degree does this variety reach that one can say that some eight languages are spoken on either side of the Bermejo river. And the greatest impediment in teaching these people is this variety of languages."

Many of these Indians must have belonged to those whom we call Matacos, yet not necessarily Frentones, since Techo says:- "Pooro gentem ferme hanc omnem ideo Frontones Hipani vocabant," which is the same as saying almost, but not all, were Frentones. That some must have been Matacos can be deduced from the end of Chapter 41: [Latin parallel text omitted, see foreign text--Translator] "But Barcena and Añasco, after leaving the territory of Tucuman, had reached the city of Concepcion, intending to establish themselves among the Matarães; and from there, as circumstances might permit, to go to the Frentones and try to win them over."

It is quite clear from this that the documents which Father Techo referred to made a clear distinction between Matarães and Frentones, since the former were Matacos and the latter Guaycurúes, i.e., Tobas, Mocovíes, Abipones, etc. [565]

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797 Description of the Matarães - Chapter 42. Year 1591.

For many reasons it is here advisable to reproduce the Latin text [Latin parallel text omitted, see foreign text--Translator]: "The

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175 Matará nation, compared to the other neighboring tribes, is very
797 docile. They used to live scattered about in small groups, as is the custom of the Barbarians, until Alonso Vera, founder and Adelantado of Concepción, made them live together in a town, and had most of them baptized. Evil having become rampant however, it happened that they were unfortunate enough to have as their first Ministers of the Sacrament priests who were absolutely worthless, to the point that they were completely ignorant of even the most elemental mysteries regarding Christian matters. After receiving baptism, not one of the neophytes had ever practiced holy confession. Among almost seven thousand inhabitants many were unbaptized, some being children and some adults. The facilities of the place however were in no way pleasant, humanly speaking—drinking water, muddy and stagnant, was collected when it rained in holes dug in the earth by hand. Corn and a type of pumpkin was their sole food. But that awfulness, both of men and of the place, the great suffering, and the attempting of difficult things for Christ, far from discouraging the members of the Company who took on the task, served only to gladden them. And they, distributing the tasks among themselves and using the Tonocoté language, brought about in a short time, that no one among that whole populace live in concubinage, having anything to do with the superstitions of their forebears or dare, on Sundays or other holy days to be absent from the sermon or from doctrinal classes. Most of them, by dint of frequent confession, were free from all guilt and penalty, disciplined themselves rigorously each week and with the utmost reverence toward the Body of Christ, communed. All were under the guidance of teachers who taught them both publicly and privately those religious exercises practiced by christians of long standing, for the edification of the people." [566]

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175 The mild Matáres put up with a great deal. And while the good
797 Fathers were evangelizing these docile catechumens, they were doubling their efforts in another direction, as Father Techo recounts in chapter 43 [Latin parallel text omitted--Translator]: "But that work was as nothing compared to the other undertaken by the Fathers when they exerted themselves in the learning of the several languages spoken by the Frentones. The Frentones being actually the reason for their coming, they must needs learn the language they used in order to be of any help to them. Thus it was that, in the course of a year and

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●175 a half, Alonso Bárcena, an old man 65 years of age, on fire with zeal
797 to win souls for Christ, sharing his studies with Pedro Agnasco, learned the Guarany, Natica, Quisoquina, Abipona, and Quiranguica languages, and put together vocabularies, grammars, doctrinal teachings and sermons, each for its respective use. Both of these men, before leaving Tucuman, had mastered and worked out a grammar and lexion of the Tonocoté, Kakana, Paquina and Quirandica languages, so that the Fathers who might be about to enter districts where these languages were spoken would have the way made easier. And in order that their usefulness be more widely disseminated Pedro Agnasco transcribed most of them many times, particularly the work which Alonso
M Bárcena had done, in a very neat hand, and, thus copied out, he gave
C them out for general use."

114 We have here a series of very interesting facts, for not only do we learn to distinguish between one tongue and another, but we discover also the origin of that valuable Toba MS, which is at present in General Mitre's library, attributed to Father Bárcena, and which actually is very neatly written, and was not in the least bit troublesome when a transcription of it had to be made for the series on Argentine Languages. The two famous notebooks, although hardly full enough to learn Toba from, are invaluable, because they allow us to see the Toba spoken in 1592.

The chapter referred to ends with a well deserved eulogy of Fathers Bárcena and Agnasco. How many evil things can be accounted to the expulsion of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus! To that event we owe the many gaps in the chain of American languages [567]. The confusion and loss of documents was widespread, calamitous and even down to the present day we are lacking those grammars of the Kaka and Tonocoté languages which are of so much interest to history, ethnology and linguistics.

IV

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The Mission to the Frentones, time lost and other Matará matters.

Devoratis tot linguarum difficultatibus, says Father Techo in chapter 44. The missionaries began their efforts toward the Frentones via

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175 797 the Mogosnas and Naticas. "Verum (nevertheless), Deum immortalem, quo successu?" The Mogosnas had killed Francisco Vera de Aragon, the Frentones were in a state of great turmoil, and the Fathers had no other recourse but to return to their base mission among the Matarães. On that occasion no good was harvested fron so much effort expended on learning the languages of the Frentones; but linguistics as a whole did gain something, and once again the Faners of the Company gave evidence that for them martyrdom was glory.

In 1596 Gaspar Monroy and Juan Viana visited the Tonocotés and traversed the territory previously evangelized by Father Bárcena. (Techo, "Historia de la Provincia Jesuítica lel Paraguay," L. II, cap. 8). [Techo, History of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay, Vol. II, Chap. 8].

In 1608 Father Diego Torres essayed to traverse these districts, and regarding this journey Father Techo recounts the following in Book III, Chapter 28 [Parallel Latin text onitted--Translator]. "The state of the Frentones was a sad one, for they wished nothing other than to continue in their perverse cutoms, dominated by the enemy of the human race. And on seeing them spread out in their forays to the very frontiers of Perú, and on becoming aware that the Abipones, Matacos, Naticas, Mogosnas, and Tonocotés, nations related to the Frentones, were bound in the ame captivity because of lack of priests, he felt himself constrained following the example of Saint Xavier, to return to Europe and, in he Universities of Spain and Italy, to try by dint of exhortation to awaken among the students a feeling of compassion toward such peoples." [568]

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114 This quote is an important one, for even if we cannot be sure that Father Techo used the [Latin] term "agnatis" in its true and restricted meaning—relatives on the father's side—he has nevertheless given us a piece of ethnic-linguistic information of great importance and which he doubtless had from some well-informed person. If the Tonocotes, Mataguas and Mataguayos are our present day Matarães it is clear that they must have had ethnic and linguistic affinities with the other nations of the Guaicurú type, as will later on be demonstrated.

The peaceableness of the Matarães contrasted with the extreme fierceness of the Frentones is remarkable. This difference must be attributed to atavism, and from it we shall be able to derive something of interest, as will be seen later.

1: Pelleschi--11 C-5 (ca. 1875) 1896 SI7 Mataco SI7
Chaco Indians SK4

V

What Father Techo Says

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It is here necessary to transcribe fully chapter 15 of Book VIII, and year 1628, (1) at which time Don Felipe de Albornoz was governor

1. Techo

of Tucumán, whose term of office is famous because it was then that the great uprising took place which resulted in the destruction of the city of Londres and its re-founding in the Valley of Poman (1633). [Latin parallel text omitted--Translator].

"The year 1628 was of note because of the Apostolic Mission which was to go out from Tucumán to the Chaco Indians. The Province of the Chaco holds within its borders an immense territory almost circular in shape, comprising the diocese of Paraguay, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and also the archidiocese of Charcas. This Province is watered by rivers which have their birth in the mountains of Perú, and which after running their lengthy course empty into large lakes or into the rivers Paraguay or de la Plata. At the first appearance of the Spaniards many of the inhabitants of Tucumán and Perú migrated to that place, out of fear of the new regime, an affirmation which is bolstered by the fact that even today one can find there people whose language is Aymará, the vulgar (2) language of the

2. Common

Peruvians. The [569] better known nations are: The Taimvias, who used to occupy 188 towns, the Teutas, Mataguayos, Agoyas, Tobas, Yapitalagas, Mocovíes, Churumatas, Tonocotés, Abipones and several groupings of Indians who are different in language but not much in customs. Among these Indian nations there is not one which lords it over the other, rather, as is the custom among the Barbarians, are they organized in family groups and villages, and subject to their chiefs. The individuals who belong to that people, each in accord with the reigning superstition, choose out of several types of fish one as the patron and protector of their lives, which they worship so punctiliously

C 175 that they would rather die of starvation than eat a morsel of a fish of that kind. They live in a state of perpetual war, both among themselves and with the neighboring nations, which seem terrible to the outsider more on account of their cruelty than of their scope." This is an invaluable statement for both the ethnologist and the filologist. The mention made of the Aymará tongue confirms what I have suspected regarding the linguistic contact between the Aymaras and the Chaquenses of the Mocoví type. It is a pity that the careful Father does not say who those Indians were who spoke Aymará.

Lozano recounts in Book IV, Chapter 1, the following: that about the year 1532 there was a great drouth in Tucumán. The doleful natives consulted their witchdoctors. These latter painted a grim picture of what was to come, and many, giving credence to these prophecies, went off "towards the Province of the Chaco, where their miserable descendants eke out an existence etc."

It is clear then that the tradition regarding those large migrations to the Chaco is one of long standing and acceptance; but that does not mean necessarily that all the Indians which are to be found there are the progeny of a single invasion. Above all else we must bear in mind what Garcilazo de la Vega says in his Historia [History].

C M 114 175 It appears that the Taimvias must have been the Lenguas, Payaguáes etc. who wore the button or "tembetá." This word probably derives from the Guaraní "tembé'—the lower lip—which is the one disfigured with these ornaments or lip plugs. Just as the term Orejones ["oreja" means "ear"--Translator] is applied to all those who use a disc or circular piece in that part of their anatomy, and Frentones are those who shave off the hair on the fore part of their heads, so also was the name Lenguas given to those who use lip plugs.

The Mosovias are the Moscovies, since "cc" [570] (strong guttral) becomes "s" by a process of degeneration; and that is why we find Father Tavolini spelling it Moscovitas.

Here again Mataguayo and Tonocoté tribes are brought together with others of the Toba-Mocoví type, with the warning, "diversitate linguarum quam moribus dissimiliores." This is a fact, as will be seen later; but I can say now, by way of anticipation, that it proves for us that the Mataco language is the result of linguistic hybridization in which the lexicon stems from one lineage and the grammatical usage from another.

VI

C M 175 Father Techo adds immediately that the Governor of Paraguay had attempted to force his way to Perú through the Chaco but had had to abandon the attempt because of Indian resistance. In the year that this event took place (1628) the Governor of Tucumán managed to get a foothold in this region and in his wake came the Fathers of the Company [of Jesus], on a mission to both Indians and Spaniards. The author continues [Latin parallel text omitted--Translator]: "A good many chiefs of different Indian grouping met with him there, and he came to an agreement with them regarding the sites on which were to be founded three towns, similar to those of Paraná. The estimated number of those whose language he knew was 50,000. Those who spoke the Mataguayo tongue were said to number 30,000. Neither did he neglect the language of the Tobas, Mocovíes and Zapitalagas, extraordinarily numerous nations, partly because many of these people clamored to be admitted to the Christian faith and partly because it was hoped that their territory might provide a springboard to further the advance into the provinces which lay beyond, which were even more extensive. He also tried to learn the Churumata language, which bears that name probably because the sound "chuchu" occurs so frequently in it. When Martín Ledesma, the Governor, continued on his march to found another city on the banks of the Solota (1) river,

1. Socotonis or Esteco (?).

our Osorio remained [571] among the Tobas for the purpose of fixing upon the site for a new town in which to bring together and convert the Barbarians, and from that place, writing to the Provincial, he said that there was need for the founding of three towns in the territory of the Tobas, Mocovíes, and Zapitalagas, if enough Fathers could be found for the purpose. He added that the Indians of the interior were so tall that he could hardly reach their heads with his raised hand."

One can see from this how numerous the Indians of the Mataguayo nation were, and also that the Tobas were always near them, a phenomenon which continues to be true to this day.

SI7 Mataco SI7
Choco Indians SK4
Tonocote SI13

VII

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175 We take a jump forward now to the year 1641 and Book XIII, chapters 4 and 5 of Techo's work. There we see that Father Juan Pastor, Rector of the Colegio de Esteco [Esteco School], with another priest, penetrated the Matará country to a distance of 80 leagues from Esteco. Following which we are told that these Indians were much addicted to drunkenness: they were in the habit of holding "circular" orgies, each taking turn in inviting the others.

These were the two-day drinking bouts—there were others which lasted longer and were called "honors," and were held in honor of their ancestors toward the end of the year, the object of which was to drink as much as possible. The guests presented themselves in line and offered the host of the party an ostrich which a beautiful girl carried on her head. And if the obsequies were in honor of more than one dead person, the ostriches were equal in number to the number of the deceased.

The host was obliged to give a small present to the owner of each ostrich, with the prior condition that the latter would repay in kind—and from the breaking of this pact grew the bloodiest fights. The obligation affected not only those present but also their children and grandchildren in the direct line.

After three days of funeral feasting they would weep for a whole hour, and then would start to laugh loudly, to dance and to participate in the general orgy. And the worst of the matter was that those people called themselves Christians and boasted that their forebears [572] had been catechized by the apostolic fathers Alonso Bárcena and Pedro Añasco.

The custom referred to of presenting ostriches at funeral ceremonials is extremely curious, since at interments in the Calchaquí region we found the "suri" or ostrich used as an ornament on the burial containers, a fact which can be verified at the Museo Nacional [National Museum] and at the Museo de La Plata [Museum of La Plata].

From being among the Matarães Father Pastor went over to
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●M visit the Abipones, and when he was surrounded by them he spoke to
●175 them in "Tonocotan and Guaraní" and the result was so far favorable that he was able to open the mission.

Two years later (1643) we find that the missions were advancing into Matagua and Mataguayo territory. Book XIII, chapter 24. We also

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M read in the same place that the most commonly used language in the
175 Chaco was the Tonocoté, that it was not Toba or the language of Cuzco, for it says there that "Father Juan Oloris knew the language of the Incas, and was learning Tonocoté, which was the language of the Chaco mission."

VIII

What Father Lozano Says

M What precedes has been extracted from the work of Father Techo.
114 I shall now do likewise with the Descripción Chorográfica [Chorographic
128 Description] of the Chaco written by Father Lozano and published in Córdoba in 1733.

This author retold most of what Father Techo had written in this regard, but also added many details of interest which illustrate the former text and serve to eliminate some doubts. In this chapter I shall set down all that Lozano has said about the Matacos or Mataguayos, and the references will be to the pages of the book written by this priest.

Speaking of the Paraná river, page 25, he says: "The region which this great river waters in the Chaco is inhabited by the infidel Abipones, some Mocovíes who fled from the Salta frontier, and the Callagaes, who at one time used to be called Matarães."

Father Lozano devotes pages 39 and 51 to recounting the tradition, which he relates in his history of Tucumán, [regarding Indian migration under Spanish pressure--Translator] to explain the cause for the Chaco's dense population. Undoubtedly the Chaco was the apparent refuge [573] for the more belligerent Indians and for those in revolt, and it is probable that what was happening then was a repetition of the numberless previous migrations of a like kind. Those who were dissatisfied and answered to the Inca also fled to the Chacos.

M On page 51 Lozano gives a list of the nations inhabiting the
175 Chaco from which I shall extract the following by reason of its being relevant to this study: "Mataguayos ... Amulalaes, in times past called Matarás ... Tonocotés ... Chunipies ... Callages ...

"On the river Pilcomayo, at a distance of 40 leagues from the Andean mountains live the Tobas and Mataguayos, the two nations numbering about 4,000 members and who are eaters of human flesh." (page 53). As ever the Tobas live as close neighbors to the Matacos.

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175 "Some 60 leagues from the mountains, the marshes of the Pilcomayo River, in the direction of the river Bermejo, are peopled by numerous Tonocotés and Lules who drew away from the territory of Tucumán at the time of the appearance of the first Spanish conquerors." (page 54)

"The nation which lives on the other side of this one (the Teuta) (1)

1. Possibly from "teuj-taj," meaning "big river," the Mataco name for the river Bermejo.--J. Pelleschi.

is the Mataguaye nation, which is the one closest to Jujuy." (page 76)

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191 "Some are called Mataguayes Coronados and others Mataguayes Churumatas. The Coronados speak Guaraní, although this is not their mother tongue. The Mataguayes Churumatas understand and speak several tongues, such as Quichoa [sic], Guarany [sic] and Ocloya which they pick up from the captives which they hold as prisoners in their territory. They also understand the language of the Tobas. These

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175 Mataguayes were distributed in the following fifty towns: Neantiche,
621 Mocoy, Collemage, Auncapinhe, Hucohas, Hocohá, Oyaha, Natetehá,
109 Chinitiohé, Onin, Anuyguay, Alesnuy, Chayabo, Chioquiose, Hucoha, Chayquehé, Chachinamí, Pelo, Cahotochin, Nacalgoy, Chenesse, Halcacha, Cheneschá, Peque, Nitilinquin, Guays, Guocopa, Hucuchinami, Tiuquiahó, Hocalá, Leguelsehá, Oyaho, Carininquin, Yantis, Luguarache, Neglisehé, Loquelesse, Queyshé, Cotonhá, Tapela, Onoralgualache, Poytin, Hopitata, Hopitahé, Tatotehé, Lechonehá, Lohoteá, Tactoy, Apagatin, Rimpihá." (page 76)

194 Not one single time do we find the ending "gasta," although something similar to "a" and "aho" does appear. A negative proof must not be given undue importance, yet it ought not to be completely ignored [574].

IX

The Description of the Mataguayos etc. continues

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175 "All these nations which we have mentioned with their towns, that is: Taynuyes, Teutas, Mataguayes, Agoyas, Xolotas, Tobas, Mocobies, Yapitalaguas, and also Aguilotes who live among the

C M 175 Mocobies, and the Palomos, which are almost at an end, all have the same customs, and are similar in every way, which is the reason for our lumping them together in order to speak of them as a whole, without differentiating between one and another. All are Caribs, eaters of human flesh, abominable in the extreme, untrustworthy and much given to warring, which flares up amongst them easily. They sometimes fight against the Guaycurús, and do so continuously against the Spanish although in their attacks upon the Spaniards they are more like thieves than soldiers for they never face them but rather attack by surprise and by ambush, making very sure before doing so of the enemy strength by C M 175 726 means of spies. These latter are tireless in their spying and will keep watch upon the Spanish positions for a year or two or three, observing everything very carefully under cover of darkness, to see whether they will meet with resistance or not, and until they are absolutely sure of their superiority, they bide their time; so when they do attack one can be sure that the result can be but one, and that there is no danger in it for them. These spies creep about at night on all fours, so that their elbows are covered with callouses, and they never attack, since they are alone, and if they are heard they scurry away with great ease, and some with the help of magic take the shape of some tame animal in order to go about their spyings more easily. Although they will not openly face the Spanish, they will, when escape is impossible, fight valorously, and sell their lives dearly, as can be seen every day and as was experienced five years ago by an officer commanding the regiment of the city of Santiago del Estero who, coming upon five Mocovíes in the forest, surrounded them with his men, but they resisted bravely, wounding many Spaniards before dying, and the last who remained alone with his wife, continued to keep up the battle, his wife supplying him with arms, and would not give himself up until he was riddled with bullets, having first wounded many Spaniards with his arrows, the C M commanding officer almost mortally. The weapons which they all use 175 [575] are arrows, clubs and darts, which they fashion expertly from a 411 certain hard wood. Their darts are very long, about 15 hand breadths, and very heavy, but they use them with great dexterity and agility. The head is made from the antlers of deer, and is not firmly embedded in the shaft but rather is loose and has a small cord tied to it so that when the dart is jabbed into the body of an enemy and the shaft quickly snatched out, the point remains in the wound and the enemy kept from escaping by means of the cord, for the lance head cannot be pulled

C M 175 411 [III] from the body without making the wound much longer because a barb is carved into it and this impedes its being drawn out. If they have time they invariably decapitate those of their enemies whom they wound in battle, and they do this with great dexterity as they find the joint between the vertebrae in a moment and sever the head with one slash of their knives made from the jawbone of the "palometa" [a vicious type of fish which also goes by the name of "piraña"--Translator]. After the head has been severed the scalp is removed and then stretched and dried, and kept in order to celebrate their more important fiestas and to demonstrate their bravery.

C M 175 492 "They used, in the old days, to go about on foot, but they have since become great horsemen having stolen large numbers of horses from the ranches and towns of the Spaniards. From the city of Santa Fé alone and in the space of only 20 years they have made off with some 15,000 horses. That is why they are such good riders today, surpassing the Spaniards. Running after a fleeing horse and using only their lances to help them off the ground they will leap upon it and mount either from the side or from behind. They do not use stirrups and their saddles are very meager affairs, so much so that they often ride saddleless, but so swiftly that only rarely can the Spanish overtake them for they make their horses fly by whipping them with a three tailed lash which they always carry with them. When on the warpath they are happy with but skimpy rations which each carries for himself, and they make fun of the many preparations which the Spaniards make since they, with a small amount of half-grilled meat and whatever they can glean from the countryside in the way of fruit or other things undertake treks of a hundred leagues to wage war, their bed being the hard ground or at most a stiff cowhide. But this is nothing unusual for them since their beds are hardly of better stuff when they are at home.

C M 175 513 554 "These latter are made of straw which is spread all over the floor of their habitation which, although low-ceilinged, is very long in order to allow room for the whole family group to stretch out, each family having its own fire in the center. The oldest lies down [576] at the head in the place of greatest prestige and then, on either side, his sons according to age, followed by the grandchildren and other descendents, each with their families in such a manner that the way in which they lie down to sleep is a living representation of the family tree. They have no covering other than the branches and grasses with which they thatch their hovels, and in which a fire burns continually.

The most important family member may have a mantle of deer or nutria skins to keep him warm.

∞ The most important family member may have a mantle of deer or nutria skins to keep him warm.

C M 175 291 "The men usually go about stark naked without a stitch on, although their skins are so tanned by the rough weather that they seem to be covered by animal hide or leather, particularly the old men, who are numerous, because the inclemencies of weather do not harm them, they having been used to such rigors since childhood. I saw in Santa Fé the head of a Mocobí Indian, who must have been about 40 years old, the skin of which was more than half a finger thick. The women go about entirely covered, from head to toe, in animal skins, and the principal women attire themselves in cloth made from a pliant plant larger than the agave, which in this province is called "chaguar" and grows wild. From it they make a thread similar to that used by cobblers, and then weave their clothes to which the daughters and wives of the more important men add some black and white ornamentation. From this same fibre they also make jars which, C M [175] cemented over with wax, can hold water pretty well and also the beverages with which they get drunk.

"All the women paint their faces, breasts and arms in the C M 302 175 same manner as the moorish women of Africa and Spain, and those of most consequence do this in intricate patterns which remain in [304] the skin permanently, for their mothers from the day they are born start to fix the dyes in their very flesh with the help of the large sharp bones of certain fish. They also use a dark blue dye, although not to such an extent, on their male children. In addition to this the mothers pluck the hair from the heads of their children of both sexes, leaving a completely bald swath three fingers wide running from the forehead to the crown of the head on which the hair never grows again. Thus do the Mocobíes, Tobas, Agoyas, Taymies and Aquilotes go about, both men and women, and the latter are extremely ugly as a consequence although, to their thinking, they are very beautiful. And in order that the women pull their hair out, the Devil is wont to appear to them in the form of an Indian woman who comes out of the nearest forest covered with a net and tells them that those who will not allow themselves to be plucked are not to eat fish, for should they do so, they will die. [577] So that if some C M [262] woman, fearing the pain, resists having her hair pulled, she later allows it so as to be able to eat fish which is their favorite food. Others of these Indian nations do not make these pathlike inroads in

C M 302 175 their hair but rather pull out all the hair on the fore part of their heads, about four fingers in width. And some of the Mataguayes tear out the hair from the center of their heads, forming a sort of crown, which is why they are called "coronados" ["crowned ones"--Translator]; the Mataguayes Churumatas, on the other hand, have the same coiffure as the Tobas and Mocobíes.

C M 175 72 [266] "While the men, at nighttime, occupy themselves with roasting the flesh of their enemies over a fire in order to give them a rational grave in their brutish bellies, the old crones, who are mostly witches and are venerated as priestesses, are usually present and sing all or most of the night of victories over their enemies or doleful songs about the dead. But if they have had bad fortune in war not a word is heard on their return in all the hamlets or villages which had a part in the misfortune, a strict silence being observed as a sign of sadness and all is attributed to sundry omens. They continue in this melancholia for some days until, little by little, they start to forget and begin to come out of their shacks. Then the relatives of the dead begin to incite the others to vengeance; and it is an inviolable law that those relatives are to lead the others, exposing themselves to the greatest dangers; but they are not to return to the place in which they suffered the defeat because, as they imagine, if they fight there they will certainly be overcome once more.

C M 175 [241] [273] "They do not grow crops but live entirely on what they hunt and fish, to which end they wander through the forests and along the rivers. On returning home the common thing is to get drunk with wine which they make from wild honey or from the pods of the algarrobo. Their drunkenness lasts until they run out of provisions at which time they sally forth once more. If they should have a free moment they devote it to making weapons for war. Some of them, such as the Mocobíes and Aguilotes eat, in addition to what they hunt and fish, roasted or boiled locusts. In all other things the men of every one of these Indian nations make the women work for them, and this is quite hard for they (the women) must cut firewood and take it home on their shoulders even if they are also suckling a child. They must also fetch water from the river. In all things the men are hard on their women, to the extent that when on the road the husband will ride a horse while the wife and young child [578] must go afoot. Nor is the mother more tender towards her child for as soon as it can use its legs she makes it walk so that she may carry the dog, who keeps them company, in her

C M 175 462 [546] arms. It is true that all this work which the Indian women must perform is made more tolerable by the fact that they are very strong and robust. Proof of this robustness is what they do as soon as they give birth: going to the river or stream with their newborn child they go into the water and swim about and wash themselves thoroughly, and do not experience the least harm as a result. However, should the husband capture a woman from some Indian nation or from among the C M [595] Spaniards, her life is spared so that she may serve his wife as a slave, and him as a concubine—but he must be secretive in his relationships with the captured woman for the wives are extraordinarily jealous and will make things difficult for the husband should he make advances C M 175 [164] towards a Spanish woman. . . .

"Smallpox is a great scourge to these nations, and makes terrible inroads into them because they have no doctors other than the C M [764] old fakers, and if the latter do not cure the sick person, and they usually don't, then all will abandon him to his fate. When anyone dies, those who happen to be present open up a grave for him on the very spot, bury him stretched full-length, stick a spear into the ground over his resting place and hang a Christian's or some other enemy's skull on the C M [771] shaft's end; then they desert the place and never return to it while memory of it lasts. Not even a trace of religion has been found among them, rather are they perfect athiests without the least knowledge about the afterlife or the immortality of the soul. They have a certain re- C M 175 756 spect for their female witchdoctors, more out of fear of what they may do to them than from any good they may hope to receive from them. These witchdoctors try to make the others believe that they hold in their hands the power to heal or to make sick, and these are the ones who resist the Gospel most vigorously, using their influence to keep their followers from receiving Holy Baptism or allowing their children to receive it, and persuading them that baptism will kill them. To this end, to bolster their arguments, they take advantage of what happens in any mission post when the missionaries only baptize those who are about to die, and as the Indians then usually see such a person die, the noxious error becomes more firmly rooted in their untutored minds." "Descripción del Chaco" [Chorographic Description of the Chaco] page 82.

C M 114 This account by the Missionary Fathers is confirmed by what has been observed by travelers who have visited these same Indians in more modern times, even in the present day. [579]

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175 nations when they are all really members of only one nation: the Toba; just as the Chinopies, Pasaynes, Guacaes, Atalalaes, Ocoles, Umuampas, Hipas, Yecoonitas and others of like race all belong to the Vilela nation, although each has its head or chief and lives in separation from the others. In this way was he able, not without a semblance of truth, to assert that the nations of the Chaco were without number; but he had no business transplanting to that region other more civilized nations from Perú, or less civilized ones from Tucumán.

"The nations which actually do exist in the Chaco are: [583] Chiriguanos, Matacos, Mataguayos, Tobas, Vilelas, Mocovíes, Abipones, Lules, Mataraes, Yapitalagas, Albayas or Guaycurúes, Guanas and Payaguaes."

Except for the Lules and Matarâes, Jolis says that these nations continue in their heathen ways.

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175 As for the remainder, Jolis' description of the Matarâes agrees
191 more or less with what Fathers Techo and Lozano tell us, but he ends with a piece of important information which is original to him and can be read on page 451 in which he tells that the Mataraes, when he retired from the country, numbered some 700 or 800 souls and lived in a little town called Matará, 36 leagues east of Santiago del Estero, bound in service to the noble Ureyola family, and he ends with these words regarding the Matarâes and Mopás: "What I know very well is that neither group speaks the Tonocoté language any longer but only the language of Cuzco, that is, of Perú."

This is a somewhat strange piece of information. Be that as it may, Father Jolis' observations regarding what Fathers Lozano and Machoni tell us, together with Abbot Hervas' judgement on the same matter, will serve to excuse me if I also reject the identification of Machoni's Lules and the Tonocotés of the Jesuit Missions.

Father Jolis was in charge of the mission station at Macapillo in 1767 among the Pasainis, who belong to the Vilela nation. Naturally, his testimony is very important.

XIII

What Abbot Hervâs Writes Regarding the Tonocotés

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175 Abbot Hervâs published his Spanish edition of the Catálogo de las Lenguas [Catalogue of Languages] in 1800. What he says in volume I

M 175 page 164 and following is so to the point that I must needs quote it in its entirety.

"The Mataguayo tongue is spoken by a quite populous nation, the most villainous in the whole Chaco, located between 21° and 24° of latitude and 315° to 317° of longitude, bordering on the territory of the Chiriguanos. The Indians of said nation are known to the Spaniards by the name of Mataguayos, a name taken from the Mataguayo tribe which used to do their agricultural [584] labor for them and also be useful in trading. The other tribes of the Mataguayo nation were known later as time went on under the names of Agoyas, Tentes, Tainoas (or Tainuzes), Palomos, Ajotas, Tañis (it is conjectured that this last tribe belongs to another nation). These names are no longer used, their place having been taken by the following: Matacos, Hueshuos, Pesatupos, Abuchetas, Imacos, etc.

M [197] All the tribes speak the same language with some small differences, as reported by Abbot Joseph Araoz, resident in Faenza, who was a missionary to the Mataguayos and compiled a grammar and a vocabulary of their language some forty years ago. However, by reason of the great length of time elapsed and owing also to his very advanced years, he no longer remembers the language which he has not attempted to keep in mind as it was useless to him under the present circumstances in which blessed Providence has placed us. The aforementioned Mr. Araoz put forth a great deal of effort together with other missionaries M [197] towards the conversion of the Mataguayos, of which 100 were added to the Chiriguano mission station called Rosario. No small number of Jesuits, both in the past century and in the present one have striven for the conversion of the Mataguayos, but with no other result than that of martyrdom, as is recounted in volumes IX, X and XXIV of Father Charlevoix's Historia del Paraguay [History of Paraguay].

V 175 "The Lule tongue, simple in its construction and different from the other American tongues, (of which I have any knowledge or whose grammatical elements I have read) is spoken in two Jesuit mission stations in the Chaco. These places, which are called Miraflores and Valbuena, belong to the diocese of Tucumán and stand on the banks of the Salado River, near the 25th degree of latitude and between 313° and 314° of longitude. Valbuena lies east of Miraflores, about twelve V 175 leagues. Father Machoni, in his Lule grammar printed in 1732 (from 114 which I have extracted the grammatical compendium which I shall publish) gives a brief account of the nations that used to speak the Lule

XV

The Mataguayos

In the year 1884 the Reverend Father Alejandro María Covrado 101 in collaboration with another missionary published in Florence certain 175 Noticias Históricas [Historical Information] originating in the Franciscan [114] College of Tarija and other missions, and in appendix L we find a very important account with reference to the Mataguayos which I shall quote: - page 535, etc. "The Mataguayos are spread over a vast region of the Chaco, especially the left bank of the Bermejo and the right bank of the Pilcomayo. On the Salta frontier they are commonly called Matacos, and Noctenes on the Tarija frontier, which is a corrupt form of Octenai, a name [592] given them by the Chiriguanos and which, in turn, appears to be a corruption of Huenneyei (1), which is what the

1. Plural of the word which means men.
(J. Pelleschi)

Mataguayos call themselves. By way of epilogue we shall give an account of what was reported, regarding the ways and customs of these savage tribes, by a missionary of this college who lived amongst them for many years:

"In their features and coloring the Mataguayos, Matacos or Noctenes, which are one and the same people, are very little different from the Chiriguanos. Their customs however are very different, and their languages absolutely so. Their villages are small, consisting usually of the several branches of only one family. They do not like to construct them in open places, preferring the dense forests and reed beds. The dwelling places are small huts made of branches or cane stuck in the ground, bent over and gathered at the ends, and covered with straw. On the inside they are similar to ovens; they are less than two meters high and their size is proportionate to the number of people to be housed in them. The ground passes for their bed, and is either quite bare or else covered with a mat of rushes or the skin of some animal. Cleanliness is utterly lacking. When the place gets to be full of fleas or other insects or filth they burn their hovels and build others not far off.